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Ex Æd. Lambethanis, Sept. 20. 1669.

Tho. Tomkyns *Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino* D^no^ Gilberto *Divinâ Providentiâ Archi-Episc.* Cant. à Sac. Dom.

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THE
Churches Peace
ASSERTED
UPON A
CIVIL ACCOUNT.

As it was (great part of it) deliver'd in a Sermon before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, in *Guild-Hall-Chappel*, *July* 4.

By *AD. LITTLETON*, Presbyter.

Opto equidem, ut, si fieri poteſt, nemo de fratribus pereat: ſi tamen quoſdam Schiſmatum Duces, & diſſenſionis Auctores non potuerit ad ſalutis viam conſilium ſalubre revocare; cæteri tamen vel ſimplicitate capti, vel errore inducti, vel aliquâ fallentis aſtutiæ calliditate decepti, à fallaciæ vos laqueis ſolvite, &c. S. Cyprian, de Unitate Eccleſiæ.

LONDON,

Printed for *Philip Chetwind*, M DC LXIX.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

'TIS *sad to consider, that, as we owe all our Unsettlements to our Divisions, so we our selves are so settled upon the Lees in these our Divisions, that he that endeavours to remove us, does but put us upon a new Fermentation, and an exercise of Passion. The charming name of Peace it self is now become an Alarm, and entertain'd by most as unwelcom news; and*

they, that bring any tidings of it, look't upon, as Enemies, and Ill-affected. The reason of this 'tis no hard matter to find out: for seeing many People have engaged themselves into parties, out of a wrong apprehension of Interest; *as long as that prejudice lies in the way, there is no hope of doing any good, or ever reconciling them to that, which seems to dis-interest them. Let the best Orator in the world go to perswade any man against his* Interest, *he shall but lose his own labour, and the others good opinion to boot. Wherefore I have in this Discourse endeavour'd to undeceive People, by evincing, that the particular interests of us all, as we are* Brethren and Companions, *are involv'd in the* Churches *Prosperity; and that her* Peace, *by which the whole and every part, (the Government, and every Person under the Government) is secur'd, is, at least ought to be, the Center of all our concerns. If* Jerusalem *miscarry, if the things of her peace be hid from her eyes; none of her Inhabitants, what-ever their Zeal or their Wealth, their Religion or their Interest may be, must hope to escape. I do again confidently say, that mistaken* Interest *is the main ground and principle*

of

of our present Divisions: because, had they arose out of pure Conscience, that's a more treatable thing, and is willing (if it be a good conscience) to be informed; whereas now the humour of most is, to run after things without any examination, and to cry up one thing, and condemn another, many times, which they have little or no knowledge of, the one or the other. Now, Reader, *to apply to thee; whether thou art for the* Church, *or against the* Church, *this discourse will be serviceable and useful to thee, upon this meer account, as thou art an* honest English-man, *and wishest thy self well and thy Countrey no harm. If thou art a Friend to the* Church; *here thou wilt find some Arguments to confirm thy judgment, and to inable thee in debating with others, that are not Friends. If thou separatest from the* Church; *then thou must know, that 'tis mainly for thy sake, that this comes abroad, to find thee out: because such discourses cannot meet with thee, where they are deliver'd. What-ever thy* Opinion *be, and whether it were* Conscience *or* Interest, *that made thee take it up (which thou art best able to resolve thy self) do not prejudge me, but weigh*

impartially the truth *and* reason *of things. I desire not to be credited any farther, then I have them on my side. If thou findest the Language any where harsh and severe, do not presently be offended: 'tis the nature of* truth *and* reason *so to express themselves; and I do assure thee, my design is only to convince thy understanding, without any intention of breaking thy head.*

One thing, for thy further satisfaction, I must not conceal from thee, which, besides the importunities of some Friends and others worthy Citizens, which heard me that day, was in part a reason of this Publication; that some while, after I had Penn'd this Discourse, I met with a Sermon *in Print of* Doctor Reynolds, *the present* Lord Bishop *of* Norwich, *Preached in the* Parliament-House, Jan. 9. *in the Year,* 1656. *upon this very subject, Intituled,* The Peace of Jerusalem: *wherein he has, over and above his pious inlargements upon the latter part of this* Psalm (*for he takes all the four last verses for his Text*) *in his Exhortation to those then in Power, so Learnedly and Solidly, as his manner is, by several strenuous Arguments prov'd, that* The Christian

Christian Magistrate has a coercive power in matters of Religion; (*Page* 23.) *shewing plainly, 'tis but a trick and* a design in those that cry it down; (*Page* 22.) *and that* the difference of dispensations in the Jewish and Christian Church, doth not a whit alter the case; (*Page* 26.) *nor* Christian Liberty priviledge or exempt men from that Power: (*Page* 29.) *That with me, and I think with any indifferent Reader, he leaves no place of doubt. I was glad to see that the* Church *even then, when her Friends were under hatches, was not in so hopeless and desperate a Condition, but that her cause was fairly pleaded with acceptance, before her* Adversaries: *and This it was encouraged me to entertain some hopes, if not of the like acceptation of my weak performance, yet of a ready excuse for my dutiful endeavour, before those, that have been always, and, I hope, ever will be the* Churches Friends. *For though that were at such a time, when our Church-Government was laid aside (which yet that* Reverend Person, *I make no question, did even then, out of his great Learning, in his Conscience approve and wish restor'd) and therefore out*

of

of prudence the main Controverſie (which is with the Authors of the diviſion, thoſe that made the firſt breach) ſeem to be waw'd, and his ſtyle particularly directed againſt thoſe Sects, *which improving the Schiſm into Hereſie, have departed from the Foundation: yet thoſe weighty* Arguments, *he brings, are generally applicable to all, and are apparently of force againſt the moſt ſpecious* Sect, *we have amongſt us; and that upon this ground,* (Page 31.) *that* diviſions and ſub-diviſions in the Church do exceedingly tend to weaken, to diſtract, to betray it. *To make good this, I ſhall apply one of his* Arguments, *which alone is enough to carry the* Churches *cauſe*; (*Page* 28.) Whatever things are, *per ſe*, ſubverſive and dangerous to the proſperity of States and Nations, come under the proper cognizance of the Civil Magiſtrate to prevent; But Hereſies, Blaſphemies, Idolatries, Impieties againſt God (*and* Schiſms *too, ſay I, and ſo the* Reverend Author *himſelf joyns them,* (Page 8.) Blaſphemies, Hereſies, Schiſms, Idolatry, Superſtition) do as well endanger the Proſperity of States as ſins againſt the ſecond Table. 1. Becauſe God is as much pro-

provoked by the one as by the other. 2. Because such sins do more exceedingly divide and unty the bonds of Love and Amity, then other Civil differences do, and so loosen the hearts of men from one another.

The Instances, *wherein He would have the Magistrate exert his power, are these;* (*Page* 32, 33.) To encourage Orthodox *Ministers*, and the *Schools of Learning.*

To take care that all who own Christian Religion amongst us be required to attend upon the Ministry.

To endeavour to reconcile dissenting brethren, that we may unite against the Common Adversary.

To secure *Fundamental Doctrines*, and for that purpose to take care for *Catechising*, &c.

I thought fit to give thee this Intimation, that, if thou think'st my answers not full enough to those Objections (which the streights of time would not give leave for in the Pulpit) thou may'st know whither to have recourse (as I said) for thy better satisfaction. I shall conclude with the same profession, as that Reverend Author *does*, (Page 34.) *that* I have not pressed this Doctrine

Doctrine of the Peace of the Church to the ſtraightning or grieving of any, who love our Lord Jeſus in ſincerity. *Only I wiſh, that they, who made the earlieſt departure from the* Engliſh Church *in theſe late times, would (as* He *does for many of them) reflect upon themſelves and apply that of* Hazael; *whether they could ſome years ſince have been perſwaded to believe, that they ſhould have lived to ſee ſuch a trail of opinions and miſchiefs break in upon* Church *and* State, *upon the advantage of their (perhaps at firſt not ill-meaning) diſcontents. And let thee and me and every honeſt Engliſh-man pray for the* Peace *of our* Jeruſalem, *in* His *Paraphraſe*; (*Page* 8.) That God would protect his Ordinances, and maintain his Truth; that he would proſper Fundamental Laws, the beauty and ſtability of Religious Government, *&c.* that the *Tabernacle* and the *Tribunals*, *Religion* and *Policy* may jointly flouriſh, they being the foundations of publick happineſs, and which uſually ſtand and fall together.

PSAL.

PSAL. CXXII. Verſ. 8.

For my Brethren and Companions ſakes I will now ſay, Peace be within thee.

THE *Occaſion*, upon which this ſacred *Ode* was penn'd, a *Reverend Perſon* in his *Annotations* tells us, he believes, was *Davids* return to *Jeruſalem*, to the Publick Service of God again at the Temple, after *Abſalon's* defeat. *Calvin* is of opinion, that *David* made it at the time, when the Ark was ſetled upon Mount *Sion*, and the building of the Temple deſigned, for the uniform Exerciſe of the National Religion. Upon either account it will very well ſuit with our *Meridian*.

The whole *Pſalm* is an *Elogy* or *Panegyrick* Deſcription of the *Metropolis* of *Judea*, the City of *Jeruſalem*: and that not only nor ſo much upon the *Civil* account, that *there are ſet Thrones of Judgment, the Thrones of the Houſe of David. Verſ.* 5. That 'twas the Imperial City, where the King kept Court, whence Laws were iſſued, and Authority derived for the Government of the reſt of the people. There ſate the *Sanhedrin*, the great Council of the Nation; and there the ſupream Courts of Judicature, which received Appeals from all inferior Diſtricts: But alſo and much more upon the *Eccleſiaſtical* account; this City being the Reſidence of the great King, the *Lord* himſelf, who had ſet his Name there, and choſe the Temple for his dwelling-place. *Whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the teſtimony of Iſrael*, (or, more exactly to the Original, *according to the teſtimony for Iſrael*) *to give thanks unto the Name of the Lord.* This City then was the appointed place of Gods publick and ſolemn Worſhip, whither all the people of that Country were thrice a year, at the three great Feſtivals, obliged to come up to preſent themſelves before the Lord in the Temple, *according to the teſtimony of Iſrael, i. e.*

by a perpetual Statute and ſtanding Ordinance to that people: the Laws of God being uſually in Scripture-language ſtyled *Teſtimonies*.

Now that there was by this *Teſtimony* or Statute for the Tribes coming up to *Jeruſalem* deſigned a ſtrict Uniformity in that peoples Exerciſe of their Religion, is of it ſelf clear in the very Hiſtory; for the Tribes did not every one bring up a ſeveral Form of Worſhip along with them, but all as one man made a ſolemn appearance together at the Temple in one joynt acknowledgment and regular Service. And Mr. *Calvin* tells us as much, that God appointed one Temple and one Altar on purpoſe for the whole Nations uſe; *nè populus in varias ſuperſtitiones diffluceret*, that the people might not, by being left to their own liberty in the Worſhip of God, run looſe into a world of wild opinions and practices about matters of Religion. And that further by *Jeruſalem*, whoſe *Peace* we are here to pray for, is to be underſtood the *Church*, as it is the appointed place of Gods publick Worſhip, appears by the very context of the *Pſalm* it ſelf, which begins and ends with this Notion, *verſ.* 1. *I was glad when they ſaid unto me, let us go into the houſe of the Lord:* and then in order to this 'tis ſaid, *verſ.* 2. *Our feet ſhall ſtand within thy gates, O Jeruſalem*, that being the ready way to the Temple: and in the laſt verſe again he concludes, *Becauſe of the houſe of the Lord our God, I will ſeek thy good, i. e.* the good of *Jeruſalem* in its Eccleſiaſtical State; as the Houſe of God, the Temple, the place of ſolemn Aſſembly, belonged to it. And thus *Calvin* expounds that of the third verſe, *Jeruſalem is built as a City, that is compact together*; or, as the common Tranſlation has it, *As a City, that is at unity in it ſelf*: not for the uniformity of the buildings, but, ſays he, *propter civium conſenſum*, for the unanimity and mutual agreement of its Citizens in the Worſhip of God and in the Exerciſe of Religion.

And that the people ſhould all thus joyn their affectionate good wiſhes and moſt earneſt endeavours for the *Peace* of *Jeruſalem* thus conſidered, to ſeek the proſperity, and to promote the welfare of the *Church*, in a fair compliance with publick Order, and in a quiet regular Exerciſe of the National Religion, the *Pſalmiſt* here in the cloſe of the Pſalm, brings no leſs than three Arguments.

1. From every mans perſonal concern in the Churches ſafety. *Pray for the peace of Jeruſalem; they ſhall proſper*, or, *they ſhall be quiet* and at eaſe, *that love thee, i. e.* God will bleſs ſuch perſons with a quiet

a quiet and a happy life, that love the *Church*, and wish her well, and pay a regular obedience to her Orders and Government. And this upon a meer *Natural* Principle of self-love implanted in every mans breast, and of that charity, which, we use to say, begins at home; the parts being all safe in the preservation of the whole; every private mans Cabin secure, while the Ship of Government steers right: whereas those, that by wilful disobedience contrive publick disturbances, manifestly hazard their own prosperity in the general Confusion, and at long run do themselves no less mischief than they designed the *Church*, drowning for company in the miscarriage of the Vessel.

2. For that which ought to be every honest mans next consideration; for the good of the Community: for a Heathen could say, *Non nobis solùm nati sumus*, &c. we are not born only for our selves, but our Country, our kindred, our friends, our *brethren and companions*, challenge a great share in us: so that, if a man cast up his obligations aright, he ought not so much to live to himself, as to the Publick; and this much more upon the score of Christianity, where Self-denial is the main Principle, and Charity the grand Duty. And this Argument is represented in the Text. *For my brethren and companions sakes*, for my Friends and Country-men, for my Neighbours and Relations; *I will say, Peace be within thee*, or, as in the reading Psalms, *I will wish thee prosperity.* And this is upon a *Civil* account; the *Peace* and prosperity of the *Church* being likely to procure the settlement of good order and the establishment of peace in the Civil State: whereas quarrels about Religion seldom or never end there, till they have involved the Government and Policy of a Nation into dangerous consequents.

3. From that, which, though set last, ought to be considered and resolved on in the first place by all pious men, that have any sense of Gods Honour, any zeal to his Name and Service, any love or kindness to his House and Ordinances; from the Worship and Respect due to God from his people: *Because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good.* And this upon a *Spiritual* or *Religious* account; to love the *Church* for the Churches sake, and to do it all the good we can for the honour of *God*, as well as for the benefit of our *brethren and companions*, that so we may *under our King live quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty*, as our *Church* has taught us to pray.

Being to ſpeak before this *Honourable Aſſembly*, with whom the Care and Government of our *Jeruſalem*, this once famous *City*, is intruſted; I have made choice of the *ſecond* of theſe *Arguments*, which ſhews how *Civil Society* is concerned in a quiet Exerciſe of the *National Religion*: wherein the *Pſalmiſt* makes it his reſolution, and recommends it to us all, *to pray for the Churches peace*, and to wiſh her proſperity, *for our brethren and companions ſake*, in the behalf of our Friends and Country-men; as we wiſh well to our King and Country, and ſtand well affected to the Government and the Laws; as we hope to ſee the Nation thrive, Trade flouriſh, the City rebuilt, and all our friends and acquaintance in a proſperous condition: the *peace of the Church* and the peoples agreement in the Service of God, being the only probable means of ſecuring and aſcertaining our *Civil Intereſts* and Publick tranquillity. *For my brethren and companions ſakes, I will now ſay, Peace be within thee; I will wiſh thee proſperity.*

In the words we have two things fall under our Conſideration.

1. A Duty recommended to us in *Davids* Example and Reſolution: which is to wiſh *the Churches peace.*

2. A ſtrong Motive to inforce this Duty: *for our brethren and companions ſakes*; out of that love and affection, we bear to the Publick and to our native Country.

The Reſolution of *Duty* expreſt in the latter Clauſe of the Verſe; *I will now ſay, Peace be within thee*: where, though our *Engliſh* render it as the common form of Salutation uſed amongſt that people, when they met or parted with one another: as our Saviour ordered his Diſciples, when he ſent them forth, *Luke* 10. 5. *Into whatſoever houſe they entred, firſt to ſay, Peace be to this houſe*: and thus our *Church* has in her *Offices* for the *Viſitation of the ſick* after our Saviours Example ordered, that the *Prieſt* entring into the ſick perſons houſe, ſhall ſay, *Peace be to this houſe and to all that dwell in it*: and certainly when ever we addreſs our ſelves to Gods Houſe, *the Houſe of Prayer*, 'tis very comely and moſt meet, that we ſhould all of us ſalute her in this Form, *Peace be within thee.* Yet this I take to be too narrow a ſenſe; for the Form of Salutation was ſomewhat different from this; and it ſhould have been ſaid, if that had been all intended, שלום לך *Peace be to thee*; not שלום בך *Peace be in thee.* Therefore the reſt of the *Interpreters* take it in a wider ſenſe by a plainer conſtruction.

I will

I will ſpeak peace, ſay they, *in thee*: and thus it may be the *Magiſtrates* part to ſpeak peace with Authority, to command it, and to ſee it kept.

Say others, *I will ſpeak peace for thee*, in thy behalf; and that belongs to the *Miniſter*, to preach up the peace of the Church, even with that earneſtneſs as to quarrel for it: though with *Jeremy* he become *a man of contentions*, in a perverſe and froward generation, while he doos ſo, and when he ſpeaks of peace, others make themſelves ready for battel.

The *Septuagint* and *Vulgar* read it thus, *I will ſpeak peace of thee*, or, *concerning thee*, *i. e.* to ſpeak kindly of it, and to wiſh it well; and thus it will concern all the *People*, the generality, every man in the Nation. And I am afraid there is but too much need, that both *Magiſtrate*, and *Miniſter*, and *People*, and all, ſhould all of us beſtir our ſelves, and contribute our utmoſt endeavours for the *Churches peace* and welfare, if we will but do what we ought to do, and that out of *Intereſt* as well as *Duty*, for our own and our Countries ſake; for that's

The *Motive* and Reaſon, with which this Duty is back'd, indeed faced and put forward with, in the beginning of the verſe; *for my brethren and companions ſakes*; whoſe good, will they nill they, be they the Churches friends or foes, is to be ſought in the preſervation of the Church: for as the *Churches peace* depends upon the union and agreement of theſe *brethren and companions*, ſo on the other hand in her peace and proſperity, is comprehended the happineſs and neareſt concerns of us all.

By *Brethren* is meant Kindred and Relations, the *charitates naturales*, in a ſtrict ſenſe; but according to the larger acception of the word in the Hebrew language all our *Country-men* from one end of the Nation to the other, all that live under the ſame Laws and Government; eſpecially thoſe that are of the ſame houſhold of faith, and profeſs the ſame Goſpel of Peace.

By *Companions* or *Friends* are to be underſtood thoſe of a ſtricter and cloſer Alliance, with whom we have contracted nearer and dearer familiarities; above all, thoſe that agree with us in the ſame Orthodox Judgment, and walk regularly and lovingly with us, according to the ſame Rules and Inſtitutions of Gods publick Worſhip, whoſe concerns are more immediately united in the Churches welfare: which we are in that manner to preſerve and promote for both their ſakes, as not to exclude either.

And

And thus much for the *coherence* and *explication*, which I have the longer insisted upon, to gain your full assent to these two things. 1. That by *Jerusalem* here is meant the *Church*. And 2. That by her *peace* is to be understood our *agreement in religion*; since without this agreement there is no probability, no likelihood of her enjoying peace.

I shall now crave leave to gather up all I have to say into one *proposition*; and such a proposition, as the words do naturally without any force put upon them afford us. And 'tis this, in the words of the Text, *That we ought for our Brethren and Companions sakes to wish and endeavour the Churches peace.* Which in a brief *Paraphrase* speaks thus; That 'tis the duty of every Man amongst us, whether *Magistrate* or other, as he is the *Governour* or *Member* of a *Society*, upon a meer *civil* account, our affection to our Native Countrey, and the good of community in our several places and stations, heartily to wish, and vigorously to endeavour the *peace* and prosperity of the *Church*, in the uniform exercise of *Religion* and God's publick worship.

And this *Proposition* I shall make good by three *Arguments*, taken

1. From the ground of a Peoples happiness, *Divine favour* and protection; and that favour not to be procur'd, but by keeping up God's publick honour amongst us; and that honour no way to be secur'd, but by our unanimous agreement in his publick worship.

2. From that influence, which *Religion* is apt to have upon the minds of Men, both in *awing* them and *uniting* them: which *awe* and *union* both without the uniformity of worship, if People be left to their own liberty to worship God publickly how they please, will infallibly utterly be lost; and when Religion shall once be brought into a publick contempt, and made the ground of an universal quarrel; when the candlestick is once removing out of the *Church*, 'tis easie to foresee what danger the *State* will then be in, and what will in a short time become of such a People.

3. From the particular constitution of our Laws and Government, wherein the concerns of *State* are so intimately and closely link'd with the *Peace* and prosperity of the *Church*, that they must needs stand or fall together.

First, then for the first *Argument*, that the *Peace of the Church*, that is, our agreement in the service of God, is the only way of keeping up

up God's publick honour amongst us, and consequently of ascertaining to us the favour and blessing of God, which is the main and only ground of National prosperity and happiness, the great concern of all our *Brethren* and *Companions*. Wherein I have three things to make out.

1. That the Divine favour is the main and only prop of a Peoples happiness.

2. That the setting up Gods honour in publick amongst us is the only meane of procuring and ascertaining his favour. And

3. That our agreement in the service of God is the only way of keeping up his publick honour.

I say first, *That the favour of God is the grand support and alone foundation of any peoples prosperity and happy estate.* This is the *Palladium* of the Government, *ancile imperii*, the buckler of State; when, as the *Psalmist* expresses it, *God encompasseth us with his favour, as with a shield*; whereupon it is, that by vertue of this divine influence upon his Vice-gerents the Magistrates, they themselves are also term'd *the shields of the earth*. A learned *Frenchman* tells us, that the Eastern people were wont, at the building of any City, according to the positions of Heaven at that time, by rules of *Astrology* and other *Magical* observations, to make Artificial Sculptures upon Brass, which they call'd *Talismans*, and to consecrate them to the auspicious beginnings and fortunate success of that City: which they fancied, as long as those *Hieroglyphicks* were preserv'd, would never miscarry by fire or water, war or plague. And of this nature and design he takes *Laban*'s *Teraphim* to have been, which his daughter *Rachel* stole away; and those of *Micah*, which the boisterous *Danites* plunder'd him of: as the pledges of good fortune to those Families, who were therefore both much concern'd in the loss of them. To the same purpose the *Grecians* and others (indeed who not) had their *Tutelar Gods*, as the guardians of each City: so that the first thing enemies did, that came to besiege a Town, was to call away their God, either by inchantments inticing him, or by extraordinary respects out-bidding the Inhabitants, and proffering the Deity better terms, if he would come over to their side: insomuch that the *Tyrians*, when *Alexander*'s Army beleaguer'd them, upon such an apprehension of *Apollo*'s leaving them, tyed him fast with a Golden Chain to *Hercules* his Altar, that he might not stir. And 'twas a great part of policy among

these

these Heathens, to conceal these their strengths, and keep them close, as the *arcana imperii*, that in time of danger they might be sure of them. From these and the like superstitious usages, this serious truth at least may be learnt, that very Infidels and Strangers to the Common-wealth of *Israel* had, from the instincts of Nature, that sense of a Deity and an over-ruling Power, that they trusted not to the situation and strength of their Cities, to the number or valour and wealth of the Inhabitants, for the defence of them; but wholly imputed their safety to divine protection. And this much more to be acknowledged by us, to whom God has made himself so well known in his Word, with whom he has entred into Covenant, whom he has admitted unto so endearing nearnesses to himself. Our *Royal Author* is every where full of these acknowledgments in this his Book of Publick Devotions, calling God *a Sun and a Shield, his strong Rock, and Tower of Defence, and mighty Deliverer*; ascribing all his deliverances and preservations to the *light of his countenance* and *the saving strength of his right hand*. Particularly in *Psal.* 144. where he does *ex professo* handle this Argument, he says, 'tis *he that gives Victory unto Kings*; and then having recited the several instances of a peoples outward prosperity, *That our sons grow up as young plants, and our daughters as the polished corners of the Temple; that our garners be full and plenteous with all manner of store; that our sheep bring forth thousands and ten thousands in our streets; that our oxen be strong to labour and in good plight; that there be no invasion upon us, no leading into captivity, and no complaining in our streets*; he closes this account with an acclamation, wherin he resolves the sum of all into divine favour, as the ground and original of all these blessings and advantages: *Happy are the people that are in such a case: happy*, I say, *are the people which have the Lord for their God*. But yet more closely to your purpose in *Psal.* 127. he tells you; *Except the Lord build your houses, they labour in vain that build them*. If God be not the Master-builder, the great Undertaker of the Work, you do but *ædificare in ruinam*, build up your ruines to farther ruines: And then too, *unless he keep the City*, when 'tis built, *the watchman waketh but in vain*. May he build your houses for you, to be habitations of peace, and preserve your City; make it beautiful for situation, and the joy of the whole Land: may God be well known in her Palaces for a Refuge; may he love her Gates, and may the most High establish her, and raise up his own Tabernacle in the midst of her: may he make

it

in the City of God, and the Mountain of his Holineſs. God does, that I may with reverence ſpeak it, by the very inclinations of his own nature, peculiarly affect man; and then further he that ſaid, *It is not good for man to be alone*, he has a more then ordinary care and regard for ſocieties of men. Well govern'd Cities and well order'd States are the ſpecial objects of Almighty Gods ſingular providence. And as he has this care for our good in community; ſo it muſt be our care to keep up his *honour* in publick: ſince, which is our next,

2. *The ſetting up Gods honour amongſt us in publick is the only means of procuring and aſcertaining his favour.* The condition of his covenant with all Nations, as well as his own people, is, *I will be their God, and they ſhall be my People*; when we ceaſe to be his *people*, we muſt not hope that he will continue to be our *God*. All juſt governments are influenced and ſupported by him; but, if we abuſe thoſe influences and neglect thoſe ſupports, 'tis juſt for him in diſpleaſure to withdraw the light of his countenance and the ſaving ſtrength of his right hand, and to leave us in the dark to the weakneſs of our own counſels and undertakings. *He will honour them that honour him*; 'twas a pitiful requeſt of *Saul*, to deſire to be honour'd before the people, when he himſelf had diſhonour'd God before them. When Governours are like God, and act all to his glory, as he himſelf does; then bleſſings are ſhowr'd down upon them, and from them to the whole community. This was *Chriſt's* own caſe: *Thou loveſt righteouſneſs, and hateſt wickedneſs; therefore God thy God hath anointed thee with the oyl of gladneſs above thy fellows*, Pſalm 45. 7. 'Tis not the Crown and Scepter, the Purple and the Mace, that diſtinguiſh the Magiſtrate from a common man; but the *oil of gladneſs*, the divine benediction upon his doing righteous things. Then *all his Garments ſmell of Myrrhe, Aloes, and Caſſia, out of his ivory palaces*; when the fragrancy of publick example commands at once the veneration and imitation of all that are about them: whereas upon wicked Nations that forget God, and ſuch families as call not upon his name, he pours out his ſevereſt indignation. This the very *Poet* could obſerve to his Countrymen the *Romans*,

Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas;

Says he: that they ow'd their ſucceſs to their piety, and were made commanders of the world for their obedience to their Gods. Nor

is it ſtrange, that God ſhould, even in falſe Religions, bleſs people with outward proſperity and temporal ſucceſs, for that honour they did him under wrong names and miſ-apprehenſions; ſince at bottom of all their vain conceits and idolatrous practiſes there lay *metus numinis*, the awe and reverence of a ſupreme infinite power, wherein the notion of Religion in general conſiſts. And he goes on, and tells them, that all their miſcarriages, and all the calamities, that had of late befaln that City and State, were to be imputed to their neglect of Religion. How much more happy ſhould *we* be, that have the truth of Religion amongſt us, if we would but be true to it our ſelves? And if a pretended zeal for God's honour has, in our remembrance, made *Uſurpation* thrive, and heap'd Palms and Laurels upon an unrighteous *Cauſe*: what advantage would real devotion do to the eſtabliſhing of a juſt *Government*? And on the other hand, how much more miſerable and improſperous muſt we expect to be, then any wicked *Heathens* or backſliding *pretenders*, if we, having ſuch advantages and ſuch reaſons both of advancing *God's honour* amongſt us, fail in our duty, and do not, as we ought to do, *for our brethren and companions ſake*, with one common conſent and mutual agreement, praiſe God for his mercies, and fear him for his judgments, which he hath ſhewn in the midſt of us. That's the laſt thing of this head.

3. *That our agreement in God's ſervice is the only way of keeping up his publick honour amongſt us.* When Cities and Societies here below look like the *Sedes beatorum*, the bleſſed company of Saints and Angels above, wherewith the Heavenly Throne is inviron'd, all ſerving God the ſame way in perfect harmony of worſhip: This is doing, that the Apoſtle bids us, *having our converſation in Heaven*, by bringing Heaven down to us, and being *all of one mind*, as we ſhall be there. For *brethren* thus *to dwell together in* the *unity of* profeſſion and practice, is, as the *Pſalmiſt* compares it, *like the* conſecrating *oyl upon* Aaron's *head, that ran down to the skirts of his garment*, that is, all over from the head to the foot; the meaneſt perſon of the Nation equally ſharing with the higheſt in the advantages of the Prieſthood and one common ſervice. This is that *dew of Sion*, the Church, *where God commanded the bleſſing*, the bleſſing of peace and plenty. A Church, as ours now is, without this unanimity, is but like the Ship, where *Jonas* was, toſs'd and tumbled with winds of doctrine and waves of faction; till, at the upſhot of all, when they

they all apply themſelves to their ſeveral gods, in their ſeveral ways of Worſhip, the *Jonas*, the only true Religion amongſt them, is to be flung over-board. God is a *God of order and peace*, and accounts himſelf highly diſhonoured by our confuſions. 'Twas *Baal*, that delighted to be ſerved with loud crys and furious flaſhings. It was the *Devil* with his forked foot, firſt brought in *Hereſie* and *Schiſm*; that, by multiplying Religions, he might make the world believe, there was no ſuch thing; and if there were, that people might not trouble themſelves about a thing, where it would be ſo difficult not to miſtake in the choice. Thus, when this enemy of God and man ſaw, that the *crucifying Chriſt* would not be ſufficient for the diſgracing of Religion; he fell preſently, even in the Apoſtles times, to *divide* him, for the puzzling of it. It has been obſerved, that *Travellers*, that have been abroad, and ſeen Religion in its various dreſſes and forms, in the ſeveral Countries, where they have been, and in what different manners they ſerve God, are apt at laſt to turn *Scepticks*, arrive at a quiet indifference, and think it a matter of no great concern, what Religion they are of, or whether they be of any at all. But alas! we have now in this *Church* that diſadvantage, without travelling for it. Our people ſtay at home, and ſee faſhions; and ſome (as Travellers uſe to put on the habit and garb of each Country, they go through) have appeared in all ſhapes, taken up all *Opinions* and *Forms*, and done exerciſe in them all; till at laſt they have taken the degree of *Doctors* in the *Scorners Chair*, and have turned profeſt *Atheiſts*. How do the *Romaniſts* triumph in our diſſenſions, make Bonfires out of our flames, and daily get ground of the *Proteſtant* Cauſe; whilſt we *Proteſtants* our ſelves do their work for them, by unnatural quarrels deſtroying our common Mother the *Church*? How do prophane perſons make themſelves merry at the miſcarriages of the *Church*, and harden themſelves in their *Atheiſtical* Reaſonings againſt God himſelf; when they ſee ſo much ado made, ſuch zeal and heat ſhown on all ſides, about Forms of Worſhip and the Circumſtances of Religion: when the mean while the great Duties of *Chriſtianity*, wherein the life and power of Religion lyes, are by moſt of us of all perſwaſions neglected? and how can they chuſe but think *Religion* it ſelf a trifle, if that be it, that makes us ſo earneſt about trifles, and yet ſo regardleſs in thoſe things, which the worſt of *Atheiſts* themſelves confeſs are neceſſary for the preſervation of men, whether ſingly in their own perſons, or joyntly in Society:

such as are *Justice*, *Temperance*, *Charity*, and the like? What can *Neighbour-States* and *Churches* abroad think of us, that, after God had so wonderfully restored us, to the astonishment of the world, we have so strangely and with no less astonishment, to the dishonour of God and our own shame, lost the *Miracle* and let it fall to the ground, and given up the *Cause* in a manner, to which *God* by his extraordinary Providences and his Anointed our late Soveraign the *blessed Martyr* by his unparallel'd sufferings gave such testimony? And at last what can we our selves look for now, that God will yet work more Miracles for our preservation, who have, by our divisions in his Worship and our Spiritual fornications, not only forfeited his protection, but procured his displeasure, and at once both disobliged his mercy and provoked his Justice? To me, to speak what I apprehend freely, it appears, in the posture we now stand in, a very shrewd symptom and a dangerous indication, that *God* himself and *Religion* and all are now about to take their solemn leave of the *Country*, together with the *Churches peace*. And then what will become of our *brethren and companions*, for whose sake we are to endeavour the *Churches peace*; when God has once forsaken the Land? And thus I have done with the first *Argument*.

The second is, that *the peace of the Church* in the uniform Worship of God is a necessary expedient, to make *Religion* the happy instrument of *Government*, by securing that influence it has upon the minds of men, in *awing* Subjects to *obedience*, and *uniting* our *brethren and companions* in love: without which *obedience* and *love*, 'tis impossible, that any people should hold together, and prosper; since, where discontents and divisions prevail, a Society must needs of it self naturally tend to dissolution. A *House*, a *City*, a *Kingdom*, *divided against it self, cannot stand*; is a *State-Aphorism*, we have from the mouth of Truth it self. So then, whether 'twere *fear* or *love*, was the Principle, which gathered mankind into Nations and Commonwealths, and brought them to live in Community under the same Laws and Priviledges, we find them both in *Religion*. Whereupon 'tis the remark of a *Roman* Historian, that, as *Romulus* founded the City by Arms, so *Numa* setled it by Religion, and then came *Ancus* and found leisure to adorn it with Temples and publick Buildings. Thus *Religion* secured the acquists of the *Sword* on one hand, and prepared the design for the *Trowel* on the other. And till *Religion* be in a better condition amongst you, then for ought I see 'tis now in, I cannot

not tell, what you may think of your *Building*. 'Tis true; it seems to me, in our present divisions, that, much what like the *Jews* after their return, we rebuild our City with a *Sword* in one hand, and a *Trael* in the other: but so, as if that Sword were to be used against our selves, not against an Enemy, as theirs was. I wish heartily, that the *peace* of the *Church* may be so setled amongst us, and the rubbish of our late ruines there removed, that you may lay your Foundations upon fair even ground, and raise the Superstructures with comfort and honour; that, when you have built up your Walls and your Palaces, *Peace may be within your walls, and plenteousness within your palaces*: which would then most certainly be, when, as you are obliged to an *Uniformity of building* the City, so the Citizens themselves would joyn all in an uniform Exercise of *Religion*; whose first Character it is, that

1. It *awes* the consciences of men, and binds them up to their good behaviour, in a strict attendance upon the duties of every one in his place, and a careful obedience to the Law in common. And thus *Machiavil* himself tutours his *Prince*, that he will put on the shew at least of Religion, to make his Government dreadful; though he hold it dangerous to his intereſt to be *bigotted* into it, and would have him take up no more of it, then will serve his turn. But if the mask and vizard, the bare appearance of Religion be, in the esteem of carnal worldly Policy, so considerable a help to Government: how serene and awful would it be in its genuine native countenance? with what rays of Divinity would the truth and power of it cloath the Magistrate; that the people would behold him as an Angel of God? For since all Government derives its power from God, the more of God it shews, the more powerful it must needs be. Wherefore, if once *Religion* grow mean amongst a people, no wonder, if they grow familiar and sawcy with the *Government*, and, having got the reins of conscience upon their neck, run away with their Rider, and 'tis well if not dismount him too. When men are suffered to set their mouths wide open against Heaven, to blaspheme God and deny him in a breath, and to droll in Scripture-language, and jeer at sacred things; how can it be expected, that earthly Majesty should preserve its reverence with the people, but that God will suffer some to be as bold with their Governors, as they have suffered others to be with him: that by way of *Repriſal* he may recover his lost Honour, and those, that have slighted him, may be meanly esteem-

esteemed. For, as *God* subdues the people under their lawful *Prince*, so it must be the *Princes* care to subdue the people to *God*, by keeping up the *awe* and port of Religion.

And this is done in the uniform and unanimous Exercise of Religion. Then the *Church* shews like *an army with banners*; For the *Church triumphant*, no body doubts but 'tis so: but this is spoken of the *Church militant*; it should be so; a well ordered and disciplined body of men. Without discipline and good order and uniformity of Exercise, it may be a tumult, a mutiny, a crowd or throng of men, but not an *Army*: or if an Army, 'tis but a broken routed one, and needs rally and recruit. And such an *Army* must I call our *Church*, with her broken Ranks; when so many flye daily from her Banners, and repair to other Standards; when some are so hardy to make themselves Commission-officers, and appoint *Rendez-vous*, and make Musters in private corners; indeed, in publick Assemblies, to the defiance of the Church and Civil Authority at once. Truth is; Our divisions have made Religion a ridiculous thing; whilst every *Party* priding it self in the glare of its own spiritual knowledge, looks upon the rest with contempt. The *Sects* wonder at us, that we stick where we do, and not come up after them: we as much wonder at their unkindness in leaving us, and their confidence in going so far. And the wonder goes round: for they all admire and pity one anothers ignorance. All of them see a great light in the way they walk in, and conclude they are got into *Goshen*; when all the rest of the world, as they fancy, are still sitting in *Egyptian* darkness. Thus we censure, one another, and, when we have hoodwinkt our selves with our own form, think our selves the only seeing people, and all else, that are not as we are, blind-fold; to the merriment of by-standers, but withal to some peril, lest from these giddy reflections, we make upon one another, they conclude, we have no light at all amongst us in the English Church, but that we are now in *Egypt*, more then ever we were. What pastime and advantage our divisions give *Atheists* and *Papists*, I shewed before: I am now speaking of us amongst our selves. Nor do these differences only stir the *spleen*, but the *choler* too, and fill all Parties, as with spiritual disdain of one anothers *ways*, so with zealous passion too against one anothers *persons*. The *Sectaries* are scandalized at *Church-musick*, and look upon our decent Rites and Ceremonies as trumpery, and reckon our Solemnities of Worship contemptible things. The

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Orthodox on the other hand are justly offended at their slovenly familiarities with sacred things, and indeed with God himself. So that 'tis clear, by dividing from one another, *Religion* has lost all its *awe* amongst us, every sort of it being lookt on, as mean and despicable, by all those that are of any other sort. Nor must the *National Religion* think to find better treatment, then the rest, but rather worse; as lying under this peculiar disadvantage, that those, who adhere to that, though never so conscientiously, lay themselves open to a general censure of all *dissenters*, that they, in that they side with the Government, are *pleasers of men*, and *time-servers*. Besides, this is that, they all in strict judgment account to be to them *Antichrist*, that which *holds back*, and hinders, that no one of them can get up in to absolute power. And certainly they must be so good-natur'd, as to pity the *Governour* himself, if his conscience be not of their model: I, and should he be but half so severe in the maintenance of his way, as they are zealous in theirs, perhaps hate him too, at least have but little kindness for him, who, as they fancy, keeps *Christ* out of his Throne. Thus we see, if *Religion* be not tyed up to rules, if it grow lawless, it will quickly become awless too, loose all its respects, and not be able to assist the Government, in the protection of our *brethren and companions*, whose concerns lie bound up in the *Churches peace*.

Nor Secondly, Will *Religion* avail in its *second property*, which is to *Unite*; unless God's worship amongst us be uniformly exercised. *Religio à religando*; Religion has its name from *binding* up men, not only in themselves, binding up their spirits so as to restrain them from publick disorders; but as to one another too, binding their hearts together in mutual offices of love and kindness. And thus, when we can walk together, as *brethren and companions*, to the house of God, and there take sweet counsel together; this is a kindly *Union*: when all the members of the *civil* society are guided and governed by the same spirit of the *mystical* body, and *hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life*. This is the true *cement*, which conjoins neighbours and friends closer, then any legal priviledges and obligations can do. Without this, you build your City with *untemper'd mortar*: nor will it well bear the weather, when the flouds shall beat, unless it be thus *compacted together*, and be *at unity in it self*. And how can it rationally be expected, that *Religion* should bind us together, if it self be left

loose

loose and tyed to no rules and orders? I confess, the *Unity* of the *Catholick Church* may consist, without the *uniformity* of *particular Churches* among themselves; and thus, notwithstanding some differences, they have in ordering their own affairs prudently to their best convenience, and accommodating themselves to the necessities of time and place, still holding to the *Analogy* of Faith, and sound Doctrine, and the rule of God's Word: I say, notwithstanding these differences in *externals*, we do own the *communion of Saints*, as an *Article* of our Faith. But to say, that every *particular person* or *party*, in the same *Church*, has, by vertue of his Christianity a *liberty* to disobey the publick orders of that Church, whereof he is a member; and to serve God, as shall, notwithstanding those orders, seem good to that party or person; (for, as the *party* breaks, it will come to *persons* at last:) to take *liberty* in this notion is to make it but another name for confusion. Wherefore, what they say, is not true, being applyed to fellow-members of the same particular Church; that, according to our *Christian liberty*, and that *latitude*, God has left things in, if the Church would leave them so too, and not bind, where he has not bound, this would prove the best expedient of *peace*, and unity: for the way would be wide enough for every one to walk in; we should not need justle one another; but though we used not all *one form* in our serving of God, we might be all of *one mind*, as to our civil concerns at least. It were well, if *dissents in judgment* could be so managed, as not to beget *distances of affection*; but this is a thing rather to be wished, then hoped for. For, whilest every *party* thinks it self obliged in *conscience*, to advance it self, even to the prejudice and ruine of the rest; *Conscience* being a principle of that violence, that, right or wrong, it acts, like nature, *ad extremum virium*, to the utmost of its strength and opportunity: hence it comes to pass, that *odia religionum acerbissima*, those heats and animosities, which are grounded upon the cause of *Religion*, are the most dangerous and irreconcileable; by reason *Conscience* is ingaged in the quarrel, whose tenderness of apprehension is worse then the jealousies of *love* or *power*, which will admit of no rival, cannot indure any competitor. Thus it was betwixt the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, that did, upon the score of their Religions, so abominate one the other, that they would not so much as eat and drink together, or buy and sell, or converse in the ordinary civilities of *Good morrow* or *Good even*. So nice and

squeamish

squeamish distasted *conscience* is, out of fear of partaking with others sins, and fancying it can never be at distance enough from what it conceives a dislike to.

Nor is that a sufficient *Salvo*, to keep up *Unity* amongst us, that *we agree in Fundamentals*; (I wish we all did that) and that *we differ only in some things of smaller allay*; the more to blame they, that fall out about such things, and to the hazard of publick *Peace*, make endless *differences* and quarrels about things *indifferent*. I must commend the generous *Charity* of some, that profess to *love all that have faith in Christ Jesus, whatever their Form be*: and I am of their mind, that our Charity is not to be confin'd to a Party, but to be extended to the whole Community, the Body of the *Church*. But then 'tis a gross mistake, to think the *Church* it self, in its establishments, a *Party* in these our divisions; who is to be lookt on, what S. *Paul* says of *Jerusalem* here, as *the common Mother of us all*: and herein lies the main of our *Charity*, to seek and secure the *Churches peace*, in endeavouring to appease divisions, and to reconcile her disobedient Children. This, I say, is right *Catholick Charity*. As to those persons, who are seduced and live in errour, the greatest *Charity* can be shewed to them, is to reclaim them, or at least, if that may not be, *for our brethren and companions sakes*, to keep them quiet. For to see the humor of *Schism*, after it has once broke off from the *Church*, how restless a thing it is, and how quarrel is apt to beget quarrel, till it have brought all into confusion. The *Sects*, we have amongst us, do no more disagree from the *Church*, then they do from one another: 'tis *Ephraim* against *Manasses*, and *Manasses* against *Ephraim*, as well as both against *Judah*. And though they all agreed, time was, too well against the *Church*, as a *common Enemy*; and, whilst her ruine was contriving, held together: yet no sooner had they obtained that, which was the common design of them all, but they fell out among themselves about their particular ends: and when they had pulled down that, which they maliciously termed *Babylon*, the English *Jerusalem*, their language was so divided, that they could none of them build up a *Babel* of their own. For the same Arguments, which the *Presbyterian* Party had fiercely used against the *Bishops*, were by the *Independents* unanswerably managed against themselves: and then there succeeded more subdivisions; the *Baptized Churches* got up and bore sway; the *Fifi-Monarchy*-men made a bustle for the Rule; then at last arose the *Quakers*,

kers, a spreading Party, and feared by all the rest. What should I speak of *Free-willers*, *Ranters*, *Bedel's* Followers and *Naylor's* crew? it shames me thus to discover the nakedness of my Country; but it grieves me more, to think, these pretences are still on foot, and most of the Parties still owning themselves in their distinctions: who, though, in the general, as *Sects*, and equally obnoxious to the Laws, do by a kind of *Syncretism* unite; yet, had any one of them power in their hand, would be far enough from looking on the rest, that dissent from them, as *Brethren* and *Companions*, or shewing that favour to any of them all, as the *Church of England* does now to them all together. And so the case stood with their Fore-fathers at *Frankfort*, *Amsterdam*, &c. where, in opposition to our *Liturgie* and *Discipline*, setting up purer *Forms* of their own, they could not agree; but were so zealous in their divisions (though it highly concern'd them, for credit of their new-found way and comfort of their exile, to have held together) till at last the Son excommunicated the Father, and one Brother the other. So giddy and lost a thing *Conscience* is, when 'tis once stept aside, and gone out of its way. I could wish, the moderate and sober men amongst them would consider this; that, if God should, in his just Judgment to the Nation, give them an opportunity of another tryal, they may easily, if not blinded with self-conceit, fore-see the event, and in publick ruines read afore-hand their own disappointments. But, they say, they have no such designs; they are quiet and peaceable men, desire only to *seek* and to *serve* God; but that some of unquiet fierce Spirits amongst us will not let them alone: they intend no disturbance to the *Government*, but the Government disturbs them, in their religious Exercises and Meetings. The same Plea will serve for the worst of Malefactors; that, if the *Law* would let them alone, they are very quiet men: but, pray, who breaks the peace? he that looks after the execution of the *Laws*, or he that disobeys them? he that disobeys, certainly is the *Aggressor*. I cannot say but *Ishmael* and his Mother were hardly dealt with, and did suffer a kind of persecution; and yet the Apostle tells us, that *Ishmaels* self was the *Persecutor*, for but mocking of *Isaac*: but this, were it sport or contempt, reflecting on the Heir of the Family, the Son of a Princess, (who in the Allegory is *Jerusalem* here) is interpreted *Persecution*; while the turning out of *Ishmael* is own'd as just punishment. And in like manner 'tis the *Sects* persecute the *Church*, by derisions and contempts; not the

the *Church*, that perſecutes them. But if they are ſo well inclin'd to Peace, why then do they not do what they acknowledge may lawfully be done, and ſubmit in thoſe things, where their Conſcience may give them leave; *i. e.* in ſuch things as God in his Word has not forbidden? The Magiſtrate has bid them come to their *Pariſh-Church*; bid men of my Order renounce the *Covenant*: God hath no where commanded to the contrary. Why ſhould not they come? why ſhould not we renounce? There can be no ſcruple in the caſe: for in things, where God himſelf has given no order, we are to obey the Magiſtrate, *not only for Fear*, but for *Conſcience ſake*. We read, that our Saviour himſelf, kept the Feaſt of the *Dedication*, though no where appointed by God himſelf, no where mention'd in the Old Teſtament (an *Apochryphal Feaſt*) and taught daily in the Temple and in their Synagogues; and that ſome of his Apoſtles, after the Ceremonies were dead and buried, came up to the Temple ſtill at the *hour of Prayer*: to ſet us an example, that in ſuch things, where there is no expreſs command of God againſt them, though there be no expreſs command for them, we are to comply with publick order and decent cuſtom. If they would but do thus ingenuouſly, there would be ſome likelihood of Peace. But they would have the *Church* ſubmit to them; and then all ſhould be well. Which of them? for they cannot all be comply'd with; that's impoſſible: for to take in one, and leave out another, will be the ground of further diſcontents; and to gather all at a caſt into the *comprehenſion*, would poſſibly be to pleaſe none of them, at leaſt to diſpleaſe the better half. If they would but once agree among themſelves and ſay what they would have; they would then have ſome fair pretence to be conſider'd. But here's the miſery on't: 'tis very hard for them themſelves to define what will ſatisfie *Conſcience*: becauſe that, being not engag'd upon certain Rules, may to morrow judge that neceſſary, the neceſſity whereof to day it doth not fore-ſee; and if any mens Conſciences are to be ſatisfied thus at random, the *Church* will never know, when it has done, but be ſtill to ſeek upon new emergencies. Whereas would they come to ſome certainty of demands, wherein the whole party, in all its ſubdiviſions, would agree, they might the better be treated with: there would be ſome hope in time of a good underſtanding. But if their meaning is to be left to ſuch a *latitude*, to do whatſoever they ſhall upon occaſion find agreeable to their *Conſcience*, *i. e.* poſſi-

bly sometimes to their *interest* or *humour* to do: there's no body so void of reason, but must needs see of how dangerous a consequence it is to any Government, to leave any sort of men (whatsoever their Principles be, be they never so honest) to such a *Liberty*. And such a *Liberty*, if they had it, would be so far from composing differences, that those everlasting quarrels and irreconcileable animosities, they have purely out of Conscience taken up one against another (which are now, partly in kindness to the common cause they are engag'd in, for the reputation of *Schism*; and partly for fear of the *Laws*, smother'd and kept in) would then instantly break out with violence into open flames: whilst some, sticking rigidly to those measures, they have already attain'd, and comparing themselves with themselves, severely censure those, that, upon pretence of greater light and more plentiful effusions of the Spirit, walk beyond their line and rule: And those on the other hand priding themselves in their Spiritual Priviledges, and the purity of Ordinances, despise their Brethren, as carnal and narrow-spirited men, that still keep close to outward forms, and walk according to the flesh, and the will of man, in the beggerly rudiments of the world. Thus you see, if we do not come to an agreement, as I do not see, how we ever shall (unless authority interpose) in the exercise of *Religion*, the hearts of English-men are never like to be *united*, either in brotherly love to one another, or in common affection to our Countrey: but that, the *awe* and *union* of Religion being left, the hazard of the *Churches Peace* threatens disturbances *also* to the *Civil State*; which is our *third* and last *Argument*, Taken from the particular constitution of our *Government*, wherein the *Civil* and *Ecclesiastick* State are so nearly united, that, like *Hippocrates twins*, they are both well or ill together, and run the same hazard of health, and must take share of the same fortune: so that, who wishes well to the Government, to the concerns of our *Brethren and Companions*, must by unavoidable consequence favour the prosperity of the *Church*.

To prove this, I shall not pretend to the *Law* (though however unkind *Lawyers* may be to the Churches interest in its *Jurisdiction*) there's enough in the Law it self to this purpose; nor shall I quote *King James* his Apophthegm, though he must be acknowledg'd a wise man, and one that well understood the nature of Government; nor shall I tell you out of our own Stories, that men of this Robe have usually undergone the greatest Offices of State, and publick imploy-

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ments; which 'tis very uncharitable wholly to impute to Churchmens ambition, and to allow nothing of merit in the case, upon which those preferments and publick trusts were grounded; nor what great benefactures some of them left behind them to Community from those secular advantages, they were assisted with; nor yet shall I insist upon our own experience (an irrefragable proof) in the late times; when the design seemed levell'd only at the *Hierarchy*, but was carried on to the ruine of *Monarchy* it self, and the overthrow of *Prelacy* was so zealously prosecuted, that they brought all *Orders* into confusion, and *Mar-prelate* proved the *Mar-all* of the Nation. And if we did not buy wit then, at a rate dear enough, we may, if we please, make farther tryal to our greater cost.

I shall only make a general Propose. That *Magistracy* and *Ministry* are the two *Pillars* and supports of *Society*, there's no body, I think, will deny; and if either of these *Pillars* fail, the whole Structure is in danger of falling: nor can publick order be secur'd, unless the two Swords, the *Sword of Justice*, and the *Sword of the Spirit*, assist each the other in the administration of affairs, and in the execution of their several offices. Now for any man to take upon him to be a *Minister*, or, if he be one, to exercise that Function, without the approbation and against the plain sense of the Law, is as irrational and irregular a misdemeanour, and must needs be of as dangerous a consequence to the publick, as for any man to create himself a *Magistrate*, or to execute the office of a *Magistrate* without Law. I say, for one, that has no Commission, or has been put out of the *Commission of Peace*, to act notwithstanding, as a *Justice* (let him be as wise and as honest a man as he will) is sure a high crime: I know not how the *Law* may call it. And it is the very same, or worse, in the *Ministry*; because this office has a more immediate influence on the *Consciences* of men, the most busie and sturdy principle in humane Nature. 'Tis confest on all hands, that a man cannot exercise the office of a *Minister* without a *Call*. Let me ask then, whether theirs be an ordinary or extraordinary *Call*? If *extraordinary* (by the way, 'tis *Enthusiasm* to say so) let them make it appear by Miracles and Languages. If *Ordinary*, certainly they knew afore-hand, before they came into *Orders* (for to such I speak) what the legal constitution requires of them, is their *Canonical Obedience*; if they did know this, and yet came with a resolution to disobey; this is manifest *prevarication*: if they did

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not know, and their *ignorance* betray'd them into a ſnare; the men are to be pitied, but their *ignorance* is by no means to be excuſed: if they knew it before, and were then ſatisfied, but have been inlightned ſince, and changed their mind; they muſt know too, that that power, which gives men in *publick* place leave to *act*; may upon publick inconvenience ſuſpend their acting; and if then they do *act*, 'tis an unjuſtifiable *diſobedience*. Nor is it with them as it was with Saint *Paul*; *Wo be unto me if I Preach not the Goſpel*: he had another kind of *Call*, but for theſe there's a *Wo* belongs to them, if they do. 'Tis otherwiſe too, now the *Church* is ſetled under *Chriſtian Magiſtrates*, and govern'd by *Chriſtian Laws*, then at that time, when it was to be planted under the Government of *Heathen Emperours*. The *Church* now, with all her ſubordinations and dependencies, in all her juriſdictions and powers, owns the *King* her *Supreme*. She challenges nothing to her ſelf, but what the favour of her *Prince*, and the *Laws* of the land have allow'd her. Thus *Biſhops*, as to the execution of their Office, are ſent by the *King* as Supreme, and act in their *Courts* by the *Kings* power, as *Civil Courts* do: the *King* deputing *Arch-Biſhops*, and *Biſhops*, to be Judges under him in cauſes *Spiritual*, and in his name to govern the *Eccleſiaſtical State*; as he makes *Lord Keepers*, *Chief Juſtices*, and other *Judges* of the Land. For had the *Church* any power in it ſelf in *Civil affairs*, beſides what the *Laws* give her; I dare ſay, there's ne're a *Biſhop* in *England*, but would ſpeedily redreſs thoſe ſcandals and grievances, poſſibly brought into their Courts by *Lay-Officers*, which people ſo much clamour againſt. But now what can they do? they are ty'd up by *Law*. All of us, that are of the *Clergy* own the *Civil Power*, pay the ſame obedience to the Laws, as any of you do; and in *Firſt-fruits*, *Tenths*, and *Subſidies*, make as chargable acknowledgments, as any of the populacy.

I know, 'tis ſaid though; what need of ſuch a pompous coſtly Religion, of a *Church* with ſo great an allowance of means? This ample Revenue exhauſts and weakens the *State*: ſmaller *ſtipends* would ſerve turn very well. But can any one, with any ſhew of ingenuity, fairly reaſon againſt the encouragements of *Learning*, and the rewards of deſert? Let it be conſider'd that ſeveral of this *Order*, had they gone another way, might (with ſubmiſſion I ſpeak it) have ſate in *your* Seats, and been clad with *your* Purple. After all

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our pains, and time, and ſtrength, and charges too, ſpent in ſtudies, do not think that what the *Law* allows us, we have by doing nothing for it. Theſe things are propos'd publickly as the Acquiſts of Induſtry, and may be got and injoy'd, as legally, as any of your Eſtates. And is it not fit, do you think, a *National Church*, wherein the honour and reputation of Religion is to be kept up, ſhould be ſecur'd from poverty, and that contempt, which always accompanies meanneſs? It were to be wiſh'd that, as *Kings* are to be the *Nurſing Fathers* of the *Church*; ſo *Princes* and the Sons of Nobles would fit themſelves for her dignities: that they might bear up the honour of Religion with their perſonal attendance. It has been ſo heretofore, when the two great Offices were united in the ſame perſon; *Melchiſedek* King of *Salem*, and Prieſt of the living God: and they were kept pretty near in the perſons of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, brethren; and the *Prieſt* elder brother to the *Prince*. And hence the Hebrew word כֹּהֵן *Kohen* (whence we have *King*) ſignifies indifferently *Prince* and *Prieſt*; whereupon the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 13. calls the *King*, in Eccleſiaſtical terms, λειτουργὸς θεῦ, and διάκονος θεῦ, *Gods Miniſter*, ſay we for both; 'tis *Gods Liturgie-maker*, and *Gods Deacon*; to ſhew too, that a Chriſtian Magiſtrate, as ſuch, has power to order religious affairs, in the Service of God. This I ſay, has been, and 'twere well, if it could be ſo with us: however, muſt the Church alone be held up by a precarious dependence? Is it not this, that makes Religion a Proſtitute to the humors of the people? when men of mean ſpirits and parts ſhall, out of fear, comply, for a paltry livelihood, to preach things that may pleaſe; and others of ambitious minds, and voluble tongues, to ſerve an intereſt, ſhall lead the people to their own hurt. But ſome will ſay; what would you have men do, that are not otherwiſe conſidered? ſince there is that unequal diſtribution of Church-favours, that ſome go away with all, and others get little or nothing. Judge in your own caſe, whether this be a reaſonable ground of quarrel. Shall the inequality of Eſtates amongſt you make the meaner Citizens quarrel the Government of the *City*, becauſe they have not all the wealth of *Aldermen*? Shall I, or any of my *brethren and companions*, becauſe we have not that place and eſteem in the *Church*, as we, out of the pride of our own hearts may think we deſerve, go in a ſullen arrogance, and ſet up for our ſelves in a diſtinct intereſt from the *Church*; and flye in the face of our Mother, and put undutiful affronts upon her, for not being

being so kind, as we would have her? No. *Gen.* 49. 6. *O my soul, come not thou into such mens secret; unto their private assemblies, mine honour, be not thou united. Let them* for me *be divided in Jacob, and scattered in Israel*; that, in their *anger* and *self-will*, practise such things. To go on, I know it has been seriously discoursed, and printed too, that the largeness of the *Church-revenue* in any Nation impoverishes the *State*, sets the people behind-hand, and puts them out of a thriving condition: and no less then demonstration offered, that, if it were retrenched, Trade would flourish, Manufactures and growths receive wonderful improvements, and the people generally grow rich apace. But to Answer that *Author*; those *Commonwealths*, he speaks of, and ours are not alike, in the constitution and nature of the Government; and God forbid, they ever should. But it may be ones wonder, why our people cannot now, with much more ease, make those improvements; since the *Church* keeps little in her own hands, and for the most part lets easie penny-worths: nor can it be any reason, that the *Church* drains the peoples money; since, if the *Church* had not what she has, some body else would in the *Churches* right; nor would the people be much the better. How our *Neighbour-States* order their *Church*-affairs, I suppose, ought to be no precedent of Policy to us: though they, to keep up a *National Religion*, by which those, they admit into publick trust, are brought to test; and, for the securing publick peace, amidst the differences of Religion, maintain a *standing Army*; Further, why our dissenters should not, upon their own bottoms, be *comprehended* within the legal settlement of the *Church*, they themselves give a very just occasion: for the very best Party amongst them have such Principles of Policy and Government, as are utterly inconsistent and incompatible, not only with any other *Form*, but with *Monarchy* it self; as hath been clearly evidenced from their own writings and practices: and others there are, that do, in effect, loosen the bands of all *Society*, by excusing that duty, *Servants* owe to their *Masters*, *Children* to their *Parents*, *Wives* to their *Husbands*, under a pretence of *seeking God*, justifie disobedience by the *Corban* of *Religion*; and for any command of their Superiors, they like not, have a ready answer, that they are *to obey God rather than man*: whereas, on the contrary, there is no one thing, that the *English Church* does in her *Doctrine* more positively affirm, or in her *Offices* more zealously express, then obedience to Governors, and her duty to her *Soveraign*. To draw to an

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end in this Argument; some there are, that fear not to charge the *Church* it self with *Sacriledge*; and truly I must grant, that Churchmen may be guilty, by imbezilling and mis-imploying Church-revenue, which sure enough was mainly design'd for Pious Uses: but may not a man, that faithfully serves the Publick in his place, have some regard to himself too, in fair provisions for his own Family? The Apostle tells us, that *he, that does not, is worse then an Infidel.* To shut up all, and to drive this nail to the head; *I do freely acknowledge, that the* Church *never flourish'd more under* Pagan *Governments, then when it was in the poorest condition for it's temporals; when it lay under Pressures and Afflictions, and had the* Heathen-State *its Enemy.*

But shall any *Christian Magistrate* now design the Persecution and Ruine of the *Church* therefore? This were to Argue with the Apostate *Julian*, to strip Bishops and Priests of their lively-hood, and to turn them out of all they have; that they may be poor in imitation of their master's *Example*, and in obedience to his *command* may learn to contemn the World. But, thanked be God, we live not now under *Heathen Emperours* and *Pagan Governours*: though, if we did, it were our duty to pray for them, and to thank God for them too, and to obey them in all lawful commands, and where we cannot safely obey, chearfully suffer for a good Conscience. Neither is, nor ought the *Church* to be so now, as it was in the *Primitive* times, before it was setled under Christian *Magistrates*; though then too there was fair liberal allowance; and there's no Minister, we have, but would be contented to Preach at the *Primitive rates*, were our Auditors as free and open-handed, as they were then. In the close of all, these sacred Morsels, though they may seem sweet, yet leave gravel behind them: and this I dare boldly say, that the decay of the *Church*, and the disrepute of Religion, amongst any people, is a certain token, and an infallible character of that People's approaching Ruine;

Sic profanatis sacris
Peritura Troja perdidit primùm Deos.

So that from the complication of *Church* and *State*, and the extreme hazard, each of them runs in the other's perils, we stand obliged, upon a meer *Civil* account, *for our Brethren and Companion. sakes*, to wish the Churches prosperity and welfare, in our mutual Agreement among our selves.

Before I make an end, I think it necessary to take notice of an *Objection* or two, which may seem to overthrow the purpose and design of this whole Discourse. For though it hath already been clear'd out of the Context, that by *Jerusalem* here must be meant the *Church*; and that the *Churches Peace*, which for his *Brethren* and *Companions* sakes *David* resolves to wish and endeavour, did consist in that People's uniform Worship of God: as appears further by that Churches sad experience, when *Jeroboam* drew off the *Ten Tribes* from their Allegiance, and (which is reckon'd his great *sin, which he made the Children of* Israel *to sin*) had, by setting up new forms of Worship, made their return, as well to the Thrones of *David* at *Jerusalem*, as to the Temple, impossible, and, by a subtle contrivance of an establish'd *Schism* to render his *Rebellion* perpetually successful, divided them from their brethren in *Religion*, and made the breach irreconcileable; then by degrees the poor *Samaritans* fell off into all kinds of Superstitions and Idolatries, *the Statutes of Omri and Ahab*, and I know not what else gallymawfreys of Religion: and all this grounded on the fair pretence of that Precise Sect, the *Karæi*, who would admit of nothing, in the Worship of God, but what they found expressly commanded in the Law of *Moses*. I say, though thus it stood with the *Jewish Church*; I foresee an *Objection* may be made, that our case is much different from theirs: for first, Theirs was but a *Typical Ceremonial Service*, which in the *Gospel-state* has no place; since our Worship now must be *in Spirit and in Truth*: and then again, for these very *Types* and *Ceremonies* they had a Divine *Command*, and were by strict precept oblig'd to that uniform attendance upon the Temple; whereas such a precept or *command* now we have none, to tye us up in like manner to any one form of Worship.

To the first part of the *Objection*, that that was a *Typical Service* in the *Jewish Church*; but that the Holy *Jesus* has to the *Christian Church* brought *Grace* and *Truth*, which do not tye us up to such severe observances in external things, but have instated us into a *Liberty*, wherein we are commanded *to stand fast*; and therefore we are not to part with it upon any terms; I answer, that, though the *Ceremonies* of that Religion be abolished, yet the *substance* of it remains still in the *Christian Church*: for the *shadow* and the *truth* were to answer one another; and those *Types* and representations are therefore now to be made out answerably by us in real performances;

mances; so that the *Uniformity of Worship* is as agreeable, and perhaps more necessary, now to the *Substance*, as 'tw as then to the *Shadow*; and the obligation proportionably the same upon us, as upon them. For though God did, by the death of his Son, rent the vail of the Temple, and break down the *Partition-wall*, and so has brought us *Gentiles* into the Fellowship of the *Church*; it was, that we should in the same orderly manner serve him in *substance*, as they did in *Ceremony*, and in suitable methods accomplish their *Types* with the *Truth* of our services. They brought their Calves and their Lambs to the *Priest*, and had them by his hand offered in the Temple: *Christian* Religion has, for their *Priests* and *Levites*, distinct orders likewise of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, and instead of a *Temple*, *Churches*, where the People, by the Ministration of the Priesthood, are to offer up their *Prayers* and their *Praises*, which are our *morning* and *evening Sacrifices*. And thus for their *Temple*, their *Sacrifices*, their *Sabbaths*, their *Priesthood*, and almost all considerable *Instances* of their *Worship*, there is a perpetual uniform *Analogy* throughout betwixt them and us. Only their Worship was perform'd in the *shadow* of the *Law*; ours in the *light* of the *Gospel*: and if this *light* proves to us *darkness*, how great will our *darkness* be? For alas! that *liberty* they talk of, and that *light*, which so dazzles their eyes, that they cannot see their way, is quite mistaken by them. That *light* was indeed design'd, to lead them out of the *shadow*; but not to lead them into the *fire*; for of that nature all *Schism* and division is: and that *liberty* as it releas'd them from the bondage of the *Ceremonial Law*, so it doth not at all disoblige them from the *Moral Law*, but rather engages them to it with faster ties of gratitude. Now, as I take it, the *Fifth Commandment*, which enjoyns obedience to the *Magistrate*, was never lookt upon as a part of the *Ceremonial Law*, but always accounted to have a *Moral* and a perpetual indispensible obligation in it. And I must assure them, that disobedience to a lawful Governour, in things not simply in their own nature unlawful (as most of them confess our *Liturgy* and *Rites* to be) is a great sin and of dangerous consequence, to their own Souls, as well as to the Peace of the *Church*. So that that answer, they make the *Magistrate* in this case, is not proper; that they are not *free* to obey him: for they are by all Laws both of God and Man *Free* nay more, *obliged* and bound to obey. Only let them, I advise, take heed of making

that *Liberty* they pretend to, *a Cloak of Maliciousness.*

Again, as to what they say, that the *Jews* had a peremptory *command* from God himself for their *Uniformity*; but we can produce no such for ours. I grant them, nor am I so fond to say, we have an express *command*, set down in God's Word, for every rite and usage, our *Church* has thought fit, for Decency and good Order, to retain. Nor is it at all necessary, it should be so. No, neither had they for all theirs; as appears by *David*'s and *Solomon*'s ordering the *Quire* of the *Temple*, in the course of the Singers, making forms of devotion, and prescribing them for publick use, and instituting several other things, as occasion required, in that service. And the like may be said of *Asa* and *Josias* their *Reformations.* And this those godly and wise Governours thought, they might with a safe Conscience do, even in that service, which God himself had appointed; and that Church was never in a more flourishing condition, then it was then. And are they able now to produce any reason, why we should not believe, the Governours of our Church (of whom we own the *King* as Supreme) to have the same power now, as they had then, upon the like occasions; and that the People stand equally obliged to accept the Proposals of publick Authority, in things of the same nature, that concern the Worship of God. Especially, since *Christ* at his promulgation of the Gospel, in his own person, took care only for the weightier things, and left those of lesser alloy, which tend only to the convenience and beauty of the Church, not to the Essence of Religion, to the care and prudence of the Apostles, and so from them to others, their Successors, Governours of the Church; to order the Affairs of each Church, as would be most expedient for the necessities of each Church in its Plantation. And some of these *Apostles* sure, if I understand any thing, have left not only *commands*, but *Examples* behind them too, which reach our case. For what means that, which is said of the Primitive Christians, that *they continued together, and were all of one mind?* They were not sure met, some in one place, and some in another, in different forms to exercise their Religion: one part kneeling, another standing, a third sitting at the breaking of the bread. Let not such unhandsom thoughts enter into our hearts. What means the Apostle, when he chides some, that *sunk and withdrew from the Publick Assemblies*, as the manner of some was? but that he would have them keep close

close to an uniform Worship, and not separate, and set up for themselves, in new fangle ways of their own. Indeed what mean those many vehement perswasions to *like-mindedness* and *brotherly love*, which we meet with every where in the Apostles writings; but agreement in Religion? Since that love can be no way so well expresst, as in such an agreement; and upon tryal 'twill be found impossible, it should be maintained and preserved amongst us otherwise. In a word, if that *general Rule*, the Apostle doth authoritatively set down, have not in it the force and purport of a *Command*; I am to seek, what a *Command* is; *Let every thing be done decently and in order.* And how in the same Church every one might have *liberty* of his own Methods to serve God by, and yet the *Decorum* of *Religion*, and the good *Order* of the *Church*, be nevertheless kept up; I must confess, I am still further to seek for my understanding. In a word; let them talk of *Christian liberty*, as they please: that cannot reasonably be pretended, to justifie publick disorders in any Christian State. This may be rational to suppose, that the several *Churches*, according to the nature of their several constitutions, in several Countries, were left to a liberty, upon prudential reasons, to order their own affairs, to their own convenience, in things indifferent, whether in matters of Government, or Worship, or Discipline: keeping still to the Analogy of faith and sound doctrine, and to the Rule of Gods Word. And hereupon it was, that the *English Church*, when it threw off the tyrannous yoke of Popery as it did, with prudent Zeal, and by publick Authority, reform the abuses and corruptions of *Doctrine*, and abolish all superstitious and idle *Ceremonies*; so of them what were found not contrary to Scripture-rule, and agreeable to primitive practice, it thought fit to retain, for decency and good order, in her *Liturgie* and *Publick Service*. And though some were even then discontented, that no more was done; and called for a farther *Reformation*; yet this was but according to the *British* Proverb, which tells us, that *the Saissons* (so they call us) *never know, when a thing is well*; but will be mending still, till they mar all: as our late times plainly shew; when, under pretence of reforming *Religion*, we had put our selves into the ready way of losing it quite, and had scarce the face of a *Church* left amongst us. Upon this ground *Calvin* himself (as judicious Mr. *Hooker* tells us) erected his Model at *Geneva*, applying himself to the exigents of that time, and those people, he had to do with: though others since, be-

ſides his firſt intention, have, with violent zeal, endeavoured to impoſe that Form upon other Churches alſo, as matter of *Conſcience*; which was deſigned by him, meerly out of *prudence* and *convenience*. And no queſtion, but *Calvin* might look upon *Government*, (though he had for his own part as much Authority, as ever *Biſhop of Geneva* had; and *Presbytery* it ſelf is little elſe then a multiplied *Epiſcopacy*, ſetting up in every Pariſh a *Dioceſan*) I ſay, he might probably look upon *Church-government*, as an indifferent thing, as well as he did upon the *Lords day* it ſelf, which he was about (as *Martin Bucer* reports of him) to have changed from *Sunday* to *Thurſday*, for the convenience of that people, in their marketings. Again, hereupon it is, from this liberty, whereby the Churches may each order its own affairs in *Chriſtian Policy*, that the *Reformed Churches* themſelves, though agreeing, as to the main, in doctrinals; yet in other things differ ſo much among themſelves: and yet with that fair regard nevertheleſs, that, as all the *Reformed Churches* abroad do highly magnifie the conſtitution of the *Church of England*, and approve her Methods; as being the main Rampart and Bulwark againſt the *Romiſh* Tyranny; So, on the other hand, the *Engliſh Church* is very far from condemning them, for accommodating themſelves to the neceſſity of their conditions, but embraces them all with a hearty friendſhip. And herein, I ſay, if I miſtake not, lies the very *ratio formalis*, the nature and extent of *Chriſtian liberty*, ſo much talkt of; that the ſeveral Churches indeed may, in *externals* and *circumſtantials*, ſquare themſelves to the neceſſity of times and places, and order their affairs accordingly. But to ſay that every particular perſon or party, in the ſame *Church*, has, by vertue of his Chriſtianity, a liberty to diſobey the publick Orders of that *Church*, whereof he is a Member, and to ſerve God, as ſhall, notwithſtanding thoſe Orders, ſeem good to that party or perſon, (for, as the *Party* breaks, it will come to *Perſons* at laſt:) to take *Liberty* (as I ſaid before) in this notion, is to make it but another name for confuſion. Wherefore, ſince *Churches* are now conſtituted, and 'tis clear, they are no more to be under the peoples Government, then the *Civil States* are; but that the ordering of both belongs to the *Chriſtian Magiſtrate* as the *Guardian* of *both Tables*; I ſay, ſince 'tis ſo, it neceſſarily follows, that for any man to affirm, that, what the *Magiſtrate*, upon grave deliberation, requires of us, in Gods publick Service, is an intolerable impoſition upon conſcience; and that things *indifferent*, and in

their

their own nature lawful to be done, being once commanded and recommended by lawful Authority, become *eo nomine*, upon that very account, unlawful; is a most absurd defiance, and not to be endured. For these are such *Theses*, as, although some have been bold to publish them, and are still confident enough to act according to them; yet have no footing, either in the Word of God, or in right Reason, (upon which two, *Societies* are founded, and the right of *Government* stands) as being destructive at once, not only to the *Peace* of the *Church*, but to the purposes of the *Civil Power* too.

That I may make all clear; I shall, to omit that of *Korah*, the Son of *Levi*, who might possibly otherwise be lookt upon as a godly and able man, as having a great opinion amongst the *people*, and an interest in many of the *Princes*, and, for ought as we read, was guilty of no other fault but *Non-conformity* and murmuring against *Aaron*, *Numb.* 16. 11. Indeed *Dathan* and *Abiram*, Lay-men, Sons of *Reuben*, went further against *Moses* himself, in *vers.* 13, 14. though these *State-Rebels* too, as well as that disobedient *Levite*, had the luck upon the very morrow after that dreadful execution upon them, to be esteemed at *vers.* 41. by all the Congregation, *the people of the Lord*. Though this look too much like our case; yet, I say, to pass it by; because that was a severe example, I shall give you two milder instances; the one, in the Jewish *Church*, long before the building of the Temple, that of *Micah*: the other, of a famous Christian *Church*, planted by S. *Paul*, that of the *Corinthians*.

The Story of *Micah* is, that he made an *Ephod* and *Teraphim* and consecrated one of his Sons to be his Priest, *Judg.* 17. 5 upon which the remark is, in the next verse; that *in those days there was no King in Israel; but every man did that which was right in his own eyes*. Nor was the matter mended, when he got a young *Levite* to be his Father and his Priest: for in the very beginning of the next *Chapter*, 'tis again said: *In those days there was no King in Israel*; so that 'tis clear, that this is taxed as a scandal of those loose ungoverned times, when there was no *King*; that any man should set up for himself a private Form of Worship, to which it should seem the people of the neighbour-houses resorted, *Chap.* 18. *vers.* 22. This practice then of *Micah's* was a fault without doubt; which, had there been a *King in Israel*, a lawful Authority in being, to have taken order about such things, would not have been suffered.

That of the *Corinthians* is yet more plausible, and yet not faultless

less neither: they kept to their publick Ministers; yet, because they prefer'd one to another, and some liked better of *Pauls* performance, others of *Apollo's*, in the same common work; he taxes them of carnality, *i. e.* of *Schism.* 1 *Cor.* 3. 3. for so he gives the reason; *For*, saith he, *whereas there is among you envying and strife, and divisions or factions, are not ye carnal? why?* what *factions* or *divisions* are these, he speaks of? he tells you, *vers.* 4. *For while one saith, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollo; are ye not carnal?* and yet *Paul* and *Apollo* were excellent Persons, both of them; not only Orthodox sound men, but men of eminent abilities both, and extraordinary graces. But *Paul* and *Apollo* were but *Ministers*, as he tells us in the *next verse*, that employed those gifts, and exercised those graces for the Churches good, *as the Lord giveth to every one.* If this be *envying*, and *strife*, and *division* or *faction*, what would *Paul* have said of us? how *carnal* are we, who do not gad after the *Pauls* and *Apollos*? I wish they were, for their own and their Hearers sakes, all such, whom people now-a-days so eagerly follow; but quite Kim-kam leave the regular Assemblies of *Orthodox* men, and run a wildring after every *Will-in-the-wisp*, that comes in our way, and have such persons in admiration, as are, many of them, neither Orthodox nor able; and further, some of us take up dangerous Principles at any rate, and exercise Religions of our own making, in such a manner, as must needs in the end (might such things prevail amongst us) prove destructive to *Christianity* it self.

And thus I have answered that *Objection* at large, taking in the ground of the main Controversie, as far as I could, which is in debate at this day among us. There is another too, which I must not let go without its Answer, (and I shall be brief) That these reasons of mine for *Uniformity* will serve indifferently for all Religions of all Countries, as well as ours; and that *Mahumetans* and *Papists* are, by this Doctrine, no less obliged, then we, to keep up their ways of Worship amongst the people, for the honour of God, the reputation of Religion, and the safety of the Government: since we ought not in stark *Charity* to suppose, but that they, who profess the worst of Religions, do, in their conscience, and according to their Principles, take it to be the best in the world. I hope there's no one in this *Assembly*, will make so uncharitable a reflection upon my Discourse, as to imagine, that has been the drift of it, to countenance the bloody practices and cruel persecutions, used, either in the Popes Dominions,

nions, or the Grand Signor's Territories. Far be it from me to plead the cauſe, either of the one or of the other. Yet I do in my *Conſcience* think, that ſome of thoſe the moſt violent *Princes* of either Religion, that have been the moſt zealous *Perſecuters*, were in their *Conſcience* perſwaded, that they were in the right. You'l ſay, that's fair for me to grant: Our Saviour ſays the ſame; *they ſhall kill you, and think they do God good ſervice* by ſo doing: and yet I ſay Poſitively, and I would have it taken notice of, becauſe it may concern ſome, who may think themſelves far enough from being in the ſame form with *Turks* and *Papiſts*; I do Poſitively ſay, that this their acting according to their Conſcience will by no means excuſe them. For my proof, I have both the great Apoſtles *Rule* and his *Example* too. His *Rule* is ſet down, *Gal.* 4. 18. *It is good to be zealouſly affected, always in a good thing.* The *caſe*, he brings it upon, is not ſo clear; I ſuppoſe upon the account of ſome falſe Teachers, which endeavour'd to alienate them from that Doctrine, which he had taught them, and to withdraw them from the *Church* for their own advantage; and this with a great ſhew of zeal, in the fore-going verſe: *They zealouſly affect you* (ſays he) *but not well: yea they would exclude you*: or, in another reading, *they would exclude us, that you might affect them.* I wiſh our People would beware of ſuch, who with a great deal of zealous affection carry on their own deſigns. But whatever the particular caſe was, the *Rule* will hold in general. 'Tis good to be zealous, if a man's cauſe be good, and if the man be convinc'd, his cauſe is ſo. Otherwiſe *Zeal* without knowledge, or in a wrong cauſe, is a ridiculous and miſchievous thing; and is upon this ſcore reckoned amongſt *the works of the fleſh*. And thus is it with thoſe Idolatrous People, who, the more zealous they are, the more they have to anſwer. I confeſs 'tis a ſad thing, for any man to have an erring guide to follow; I mean an erroneous *Conſcience*. For which way ſoever he take, either with or againſt *Conſcience*, he is concluded to an unavoidable neceſſity of ſinning; and I muſt acknowledge too, that 'tis ſafeſt to ſin on Conſcience ſide; and yet the miſtake of Conſcience will not be a ſufficient plea for unjuſtifiable actions. And thus it was with *Paul*, who, in the time of his *Phariſaiſm*, was a zealous Perſecutor, and thought he did well; but after his Converſion, for that very thing condemns himſelf, as the worſt of ſinners, and yet was

no less zealous for the Religion he turn'd to. Now does his *Zeal*, whilst he was a *Pharisee*, which was his great sin, make his *Christian Zeal* e're a whit the less commendable? No sure. No more does *Nero*'s or *Diocletian*'s Persecutions of the *Saints* blemish any *Christian Magistrates* severity, in defending the *Faith* against *Heretick*s, or the *Order* of the *Church* against *Sectaries*. *Alexander*'s killing of a Friend in his drink could be no Argument against his putting a Traytor to death by sober advice; nor could the execution of a *Traytor* excuse the murder of a *Friend*. To retort it upon the Objectors: if they are so zealously affected, that, rather then their conceits shall not carry, they will venture the pulling down *Church* and *State* about their ears; let any one judge, is not the *Magistrate*, whom God hath intrusted with the care of his *Church*, obliged to be as Zealous for the preservation of *Church* and *State*, in the vigorous defence of Truth and Peace? To make a familiar instance: an honest man in possession shews a just courage in maintaining his right, and is commended for it; whilst the injurious invader, let his courage be what it will, is apprehended and deservedly punish'd by Law, unless he grow too strong for the Law; and then that's a sad case.

I have done with the *Arguments*, wherein I could not but think it my duty, as to plead the *Churches Peace*, so to vindicate her against *Objections*, which are usually made; and now shall only desire, that, as you have hitherto attended me with an obliging patience, so you will extend that patience a little farther, whilst I make an earnest and affectionate Address to you, in a short *Application*, with which I shall close all. Let me then press it upon you, *Right Honourable* and *Worshipful*, the *Magistrates* and *Patriots* of this great *City*, and you worthy *Citizens*, of what rank and degree soever, which hear me this day (and I could wish, my voice could reach from one end of the *City* to the other) that you will all of you put on Publick Spirits, and lay to heart the concerns of your *Brethren* and *Companions*, and every man in his place exert his Authority and Interest, contribute his Prayers and endeavours for the Prosperity of the *English Church*, and the composure of our unnatural irreligious differences in Religion. Your *City* is the *Metropolis* of the *Nation*, the *Royal Seat* of the *Government*, and the great *Staple of Trade*; which

spreads

ſpreads its universal influence into all parts of the Land; and your *Example* gives law to all the reſt of the people. 'Tis your *Juſtice*, which holds the ballance in all National dealings; 'tis your *mode of Religon* here, that is follow'd every where; your faſhions of ſerving God, that are taken up and *retayl'd* into the Countrey. The union of this *City* would unite us all. O do not be wanting to ſo Pious, ſo Neceſſary, ſo Charitable a Work: If you have any regard to *God's Honour* amongſt us, if any care of *Religion*, if any love to your Native Countrey and the *Government* you live under; if any kindneſs to your own Perſons and Families, to your Wives and little ones, to your Friends and Relations; if you have any hopes left, after all thoſe heavy *Judgments* that have gone over you, of enjoying *Peace* and *Liberty* and *Plenty* in your new dwellings; if all theſe dear concerns do, as I know they needs muſt, lye near your hearts; act then in the name of God, for his ſake and your own, in a full and vigorous ſenſe of theſe things, and ſtudy the *Churches Peace*, which is to ſecure them all to you by your unanimous Agreement in God's Worſhip and Service. Your publick *Juſtice*, and *Regulation of Trade*, and *Reformation of Abuſes* in *Civil* Affairs, and the prudent and vigilant adminiſtration of the *Government* of the *City*, are things make you worthily ſpoken of: but if this be all, if there be not a like *zeal* for *Gods Houſe*, and the cauſe of *Religion*, we may ſay, as he did, *Arcem perdimus, dum caſtella defendimus*; We have loſt the main fort of our happineſs, the *Churches Peace*; while we take care of the out-works, things leſs conſiderable. Pardon me; 'Tis not flattery, will uphold a *Government*. I ſpeak it out of hearty affection to my *Countrey*, and a due reſpect to this famous *City*. My heart bleeds within me, and my bowels earn, to think, in what a poſture our *Jeruſalem* now ſtands. You are very now building in the Flames; they have ſeiz'd your *Suburbs*, and are got within your *Gates*, and are ſmothering in the midſt of your *Ruines*. Let us do, as is uſual, when a Fire breaks out: every one bring his Bucket, and help to quench: unleſs ſuch a *Stupor* and unactive aſtoniſhment hath overtaken us, as did in the late *Conflagration*, and we tamely give up all to the Fury of the Mercileſs Element. And this ſure is the far more deplorable *Fire* of the two, as laying waſt the Conſciences

of men, and burning up our main ſtrengths and greateſt ornaments, and laying us open to diſmal expectations. I pray read the 28. of *Deuteronomy*, and apply it to our caſe; that, *if they did not obſerve the Commandments and Statutes, God appointed them to walk in*, (by which was not meant the *Moral* Law alone, for that has an equal obligation upon all mankind; but thoſe *National* rules and inſtitutions, by which they were made a *People* and a *Church*) they ſhould be *curſed in the City, and curſed in the Field*; *they ſhould build Houſes, and not dwell in them*; *they ſhould be purſu'd with Plagues, and at laſt given up to the inſolence of Forreiners, and pluckt off from the Land of their Nativity*. What then can we look for at laſt, after ſo many methods, God has loſt upon us, after ſo many *præludia* of his diſpleaſure, but ſome determining exterminating Judgment? But God forbid! I have ſome hopes ſtill of Gods mercy to this our *Jeruſalem*, and his pity to her, as ſhe lies in her duſt. Nor is the thing it ſelf, I am perſwaded, paſt remedy, were it apply'd to, and we would take Saint *Jude*'s advice, *Jude* 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. *verſes*, where he tells us of thoſe, that *ſeparate themſelves*; *that*, for all their pretences, *have not the Spirit*. *But ye Beloved*, (ſays he) *building up your ſelves on your moſt holy Faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt*, (which may moſt certainly be done in the publick wholſome forms of *Church-Devotion*) *Keep your ſelves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life. And of ſome have compaſſion, making a difference: and others ſave with fear*, his meaning is, by rugged means; *pulling them out of the Fire*. This *Schiſm* then and *Separation* is a *Fire*, in the Apoſtles Language; and ſome are to be *pull'd out* of it by force. The ingenuous will be ſham'd, the meek will be convinc'd, the conſidering will be reaſon'd out of it; but ſome there are, it ſeems, muſt be roughly dealt with, and aw'd by Authority. Let us, like *Brethren and Companions*, take up the buſineſs between our ſelves. Come; We are *Men*. 'Tis the priviledge of the bleſſed *Angels* to be free from errour; but the infirmity of *humane* nature to commit miſtakes; to perſiſt in errours though, even to publick miſchief, is the character of the *Devil's* pride and malice; but to return and repent, is the glory of the *Saints* of God. Why ſhould any one of us be aſham'd of that which is his glory, and will be his Eternal comfort?

We

We are *Brethren and Friends*; we live under the ſame Laws, and profeſs the ſame *Goſpel of Peace*; why ſhould we diſagree, and fall out in our greateſt concern, and quarrel one another into common Ruine? *Jeruſalem* is the mother of us all; let not us by our Diviſions make her a *Samaria*, a Seminary of *Sects* and *Factions*: let us not make our *Mother* a harlot. What have we to do with the Statutes of *Omri* and *Ahab*, and the ſin of uſurping *Jeroboam*, which he cauſed *Iſrael* to ſin? They are dead and gone, and let their *Statutes* dye with them. You are *Citizens of London*, a People of great Credit and Reputation all the World over, for your Prudence and good Government, for your vaſt Trade and Dealings; and you are allied to moſt of the conſiderable Families of the Kingdom: let it not be ſaid of you, that you are grown weak and mean, a fluttering and unſteady People; that you have quit your eſtabliſhments, and are perpetually to ſeek for your *Religion*, and are ready like Children in your ſtreets, to be caught up by every Spirit, and to run after any one, that pretends to be a Guide. *London*, an Ancient and Noble *Mart*, long talkt of in the world, before ever there was *Dam* or *Dike* in *Holland*; let it not truckle under *Amſterdam*, and be made a Magazine of Opinions, and new fangled *Religions*. For ſhame do not juſtifie that advantage, the Enemies of our *Church* have taken from 666. to clap the name of *Babylon* upon your *City*; but wipe off the reproach, and fling it back into the face of them, as they deſerve it; by uniting all, as one man, in the ſervice and worſhip of God, and in the common defence of the *Proteſtant* cauſe. And then, when you are thus agreed, when your minds are as *uniform*, as your buildings are like to be; then *ſhall ye be bleſſed in the City, and bleſſed ſhall ye be in the Field; bleſſed ſhall be your Basket and your Store: then the Lord ſhall eſtabliſh you a holy people unto himſelf; and all people ſhall ſee, that ye are call'd by his name, and they ſhall be afraid of you. Then the Lord ſhall open unto you his good treaſure, and ſhall make you plenteous in goods; and he ſhall command the bleſſing upon you, in your Store-houſes, and in all that you ſet your hands unto.* And then, when *your Example*, has prevail'd with the reſt of the *Nation* (as it will in a very ſhort time) that having our hearts united in God's fear, and laying aſide all animoſities and unneceſſary quarrels, we may ſerve him with one heart and

with

with one ſhoulder, and with one voice confeſs his holy name and his word, and, being like-minded, we may unanimouſly ſeek thoſe things, which tend to publick peace, and to the good of community; Then, when we are thus united, all other diſorders will eaſily be regulated, all grievances redreſt, and all ſcandals remov'd, to the honour of the Government, and the welfare of the People; *Then ſhall the Earth bring forth her increaſe, and God, even our own God, ſhall give us his bleſſing*: Then ſhall we ſee both *Church* and *State*, once more in a flouriſhing condition: when God ſhall make all our Officers righteouſneſs, and with his favour ſhall encompaſs us, as with a ſhield: Then ſhall this *floating Iſland* be ſetled upon ſure and laſting grounds; Then ſhall *Albion* again be the praiſe and terrour of the Nations, nor ſhall her white cliffs, or her wooden walls, or the embraces of her beloved Ocean, ſo much ſecure her, as the *Divine* protection, and agreement of her *Inhabitants*: Which God in his good time, of his Infinite Mercy, grant, for his *Churches*, and *for our Brethren and Companions ſake*. Amen, Amen.

ERRATA.

PAge 3. Line 13. read *of community*. p. 13. l. 18. will r. *would*. p. 20. l. 18. form r. *forms*. p. 22. l. 22. r. *of the Land, in Civil affairs*, and leave out *in Civil affairs* in the next line. p. 25. l. 12. r. *perſecution*. p. 27. l. 31. indiſpenſible r. *indiſpenſable*. p. 28. l. 38. ſunk r. *ſlunk*. p. 30. l. 7. 60k r. *look*.

FINIS.